462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the 462 manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

● 241 592 By no means does every house have its own plow. Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
● [241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231
556
612

2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual [821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings 241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is 782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
●241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1.	Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2.	Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

539
773 /47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja; — But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/

9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang. — When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.

10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi. — When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 171 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 796 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

241 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang)
796 on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with
[264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
554

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

[541] Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). 1

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

1 [see End Plate 7.-Ana/gst]

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

241 634 778 Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

• [241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

/189 cont./

585
539
[241]

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.

And the bride says:
What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/

92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.

And the bridegroom says:
Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.

93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.

And the song of the bride goes again:
Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.

94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.

Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585

After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

241
291

During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederici. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241● 262

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
●241 cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco, Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside. 517 181 167 186

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway. 178 681 796 805 [241]

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f. 25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned 574 852 [562] 176 874 401 403